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II

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almost complete autonomy in the management of their local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

The first contact between the British and the inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Diwáni* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

* The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, such as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 258-262.

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supply of lime to deltaic Bengal, were also known as troublesome marauders, whose raids were a terror to the inhabitants of the plains. Captain R. B. Pemberton, in his Report on the Eastern Frontier (1835), mentions* an attack on Jaintia by a force under Major Henniker in 1774, supposed to have been made in retaliation for aggression by the Raja in Sylhet; and Robert Lindsay, who was Resident and Collector of Sylhet about 1778, has an interesting account of the hill tribes and the Raja of Jaintia in the lively narrative embodied in the "Lives of the Lindsays."† Lindsay, who made a large fortune by working the lime quarries and thus converting into cash the millions of cowries in which the land-revenue of Sylhet was paid, appears to have imagined that the Khasis, whom he calls "a tribe of independent Tartars," were in direct relations with China, and imported thence the silk cloths‡ which they brought down for sale in the Sylhet markets. A line of forts was established along the foot of the hills to hold the mountaineers in check, and a Regulation, No. 1 of 1792, was passed declaring freedom of trade between them and Sylhet, but prohibiting the supply to them of arms and ammunition, and forbidding any one to pass the Company's frontier towards the hills with arms in his hands.

The outbreak of the first Burma War, in 1824, brought us into closer relations with the Raja of Jaintia, and in April of that year Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, emerging at Raha on the Kalang river, in what is now the Nowgong district. This was the first occasion on which

* P. 111.

† Vol. iii., p. 169, 177, &c.

‡ These cloths, which Lindsay calls "nunguhattins," were really the produce of Assam, and were dhotis or waist-cloths of coarse silk.

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Colonel Lister, writing in 1853, estimated that 20,000 maunds of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to the Assam Valley, and in lumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongspung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into billhooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Crecroft have described the native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 853, vol. xi. part ii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1863, says, "The quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms (or masses of the metal in a molten state), however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, whilst the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few loads being brought down by the Khasis from Laitkám, in Khadsawphra, to the Bordwar and Palashari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of [illegible] manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

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586 Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynkiar synjat* rite, a *kniang* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *kni*, or maternal uncles of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *kniang* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*shài*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (*u niang pyrta shnong*) then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words:— [203]

"Kaw—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. Hei! thou, oh, young man, canst go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khyrsaw*), and thou, oh, spinster, canst make love to U——. Hei! there is no let or hindrance from henceforth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent, and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U *Joobun Roy*[1] that the rule of monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife. [587] He can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka iyngo tuk*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka iyngo tiei*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khun klier* (children from the top). By children from the top is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*tiei*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim

595 428

[1] See page iii. "Ka Niam Khasi." (U Joobun Roy.)

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The bridegroom then sets out with this man and a number of followers, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and fermented rice-beer (*ka-kiad-kiar*) in gourds (*klong*) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the meantime, dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *kniang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *kniang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *kniang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*kni*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and where the custom of investiture of the ring is in vogue, these tokens are interchanged. The *kniangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulæ, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Jeebon Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *kniangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest thus appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words:—

*Blei, oh god from above; oh god from below; oh blei synshar;* oh god who hast created man; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day; thou wilt know; thou wilt hear; from the clear firmament above that . . . . have been married this day. Thou wilt bless them; thou wilt grant them prosperity; thou wilt show them the way; thou wilt show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

782 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[781] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

771 114 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentialy with the definitions of Bivar, (3) who

●[113] 3. Bivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined a a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [110] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907), p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in time of [illegible]

Table of Summary

774 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. Good Gods:

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

776 Then the wings of his nose are cut with a shear,
782 or pincer of silver and the blood is drained off. In the same way the nails on the hands and feet are cut off with silver shears. Finally the dead body is thrown into an abyss. (5)

[113] 5. For further details about "Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi", see Dr. P. C. Becker, Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

784 [114] Since on the one hand many Khasi are busy
782 trying to kill others with the help of the devil or to make them sick (ai-ksuid), and on the other hand the evil spirits also harm men without being called upon, an enormous fear is thus the fruit of this superstition. From this fear comes the desire to make oneself free from the influence of evil spirits (lait-ksuid) or to modify this influence by sacrifices (khad) or at least to propitiate the devil completely (khein-ban khai).

796 Therefore the Synteng annually hold a large
[792] feast for driving away cholera (ka behdiengkhlam). The offered sacrifices have the purpose or propitiating the feared demoness ka khlam but at the same time they also have the purpose of making the participants in the sacrifice safe against cholera (to enchant them). Gurdon (6)

6. Gurdon, The Khasis.

describes this feast as follows: "In the month of June when the river is full of water, on a certain day the men go in the morning in front of the huts and strike the roofs of the huts with sticks. At the same time they call on the demoness ka khlam continuously and challenge her to leave

796 the house concerned. Then they go slowly down to the river. Large poles, which were set out the day before, are now placed on the river. The people jump onto the poles and try to break them. If this happens a general great shout of joy sounds forth. If all the poles are broken, they fetch a particularly strong pole, actually a beam, and place it over the river. The people now divide up into two halves, and a battle begins for the possession of this beam. But the fight is a friendly one and even though there are many blows and even wounds, the people do not engage in a serious fight, even though they battle and struggle for the possession of the beam so hard that many lose all their clothes. The side which has the luck of winning possession of the beam will be healthy (free of cholera) and well for the coming year according to the belief of the people.

797 The use of charcoal also borders on magic. Thus P.V. Kartte, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. writes: (7) If a mother has a long journey to

• [113] 7. Kartte, Die Religion der heidnischen Khasi [The Religion of the Heathen Khasi], Apostelkalender, 1895. [Apostle Calendar]

make, she makes a black mark with charcoal on the forehead of her child to protect it from any harm. Then she takes a longish piece of wood, splits it at one end into four parts, and puts the piece of charcoal in between. The mother carries this in her hand on the journey.

798 The same missionary also reports the doings of the Khasi during an eclipse of the moon: "If there is an eclipse of the moon, the Khasi believe that a frog is with the moon and is eating it up. The Khasi like the moon very much, and in order to prevent the frog from eating up the

821 moon they try to frighten the frog with noise and to drive him away. A few days ago we experienced a sample of it. In all the villages the Khasi beat drums and screamed at the same time. It was a purely hellish spectacle." (8)

8. Loc. cit., p. 62.

[415] The Khasi also have no explanation for thunderstorms. They believe, therefore, that the ksuid (devils) cause them. Especially disturbing to them is thunder, which can be extremely violent in a tropical storm. When lightning strikes [712] anywhere, they sacrifice to the ksuid u pyrthat a fat pig, the blood of which is smeared on the altar in order to propitiate him and to prevent the lightning from striking again.

When the Khasi sacrifice to protect themselves from harm or to heal themselves from illnesses, they murmur formulas or prayers during the sacrifice. They implore the invisible powers at the same time and thus support the offered sacrifice. They call this murmuring tim-knia (swearing-sacrificing). It is also reported thus of the sacrifices in Mongkrem: (9) "Each person places

[713] 9. P. Dr. G. Becker, Die Mongkrem-Puja in den Khasibergen (Assam) [The Mongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam)], Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 890.

the little bottle of liquor on the little pile of mud in front of him. This represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in front of the altar in a certain way next to and on top of each other; pieces of betel nut are placed on top and the whole is sprinkled with rice, kpu meal and rynsi meal, while [illegible]."

784 the heir must pay 11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 percent
782 of their wealth, in order to be able to pay for the great festivities at the cremation and the later disposal of the ashes. First of all various sacrificial gifts are bought with the money. When one has all the sacrificial gifts together, one erects three hewn stones in the manner of mau-bynna (urn stones) on any road. These stones are called "adulterer stones" /Ehebrechersteine/ (mau-klim). Then one catches a pig and curses it in the following way: (10)

[113]

10. This and the following Khasi texts are taken from the kitab jingphawar by U. Rabon Singh (Shillong, 1902); I am indebted to the very worthy P.C. Bonheim, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. of Cherrapunji, who was most willing to place his many years of experience at my disposal for the translation into German.

Hei sngewkyndiang ho kane nga iathuhkhana ba me ba la ioh ka sang na ka tnga ka jong me yn leh kumno kynrad wei la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, ka tyrut ka smer sngew la khuid ka sang ka ma, ka klim ka ngat yn long sa ka rong sa ka taw, sa ka sngewbha ka sngewniat mo! Hei une sa u dykhot u lamjew ka iad bang ka iad thiang mo!

So listen carefully to this that I am saying, thou who hast inherited the sang from thy wife; What else should we do, lord; after heaven and earth, the Tyrut and the Smer (demonesses) slay him, we are freed; the sang is made holy, the feared sang, adultery and other sins. Then it can be that the bones are transferred and peace and joy will come to us, mo! Is it

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342 hates stone; he does not wish any lime." (14)

14. P.A. Mäuloher, S.D.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assam [The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam], Rome, 1899), p. 83.

4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng).

787 The most common of all the oracles of the
782 Khasi is egg throwing shat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

[113]

15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi] Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-18), pp. 494-496.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer u nongshat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongshat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ko lengsam khun ka blei, ko banang ko bati, ko ba lah ko baiai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan

O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou remainest thou (stayest); I put thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1. [119]

togkit katne ba long shiton ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka yang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u

on the oracular wood, on the altar, o mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

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193 high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g., *nari phí man* or *phí man nari*, where do you come from.[1]

121 18. *Conclusion.*—I have endeavoured to note down briefly above some of what seem to be the more prominent features of Khasi Ethnology, reserving a more detailed account of the Khasis for the monograph which is under preparation. In publishing this brief account, it is my hope that it may attract criticism by persons who are more familiar with the Khasis than myself, and it is my earnest desire that if experts who are acquainted with the Ethnology of the provinces of Burma and of that great country comprising the valleys of the Mekong and the Menam, find any points of resemblance between Khasi Ethnology and that of those regions, they will kindly bring those points to my notice, so that perhaps a clue may be found to the origin of the Khasis, which is at present so obscure.

113 [1] In the compilation of this brief notice of the Khasi language, I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Grimmon's Skeleton Khasi Grammar, the Revd. H. Robert's Khasi Grammar, and to Nimar Singh's "Hints on the Study of the Khasi language."—P. R. T. G.

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*On the* STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khási Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khásis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances misleading, and in some cases do the people, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengáli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

I shall notice the best of those papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the ranges of hills bounding [illegible] of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Dyrung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gáros, by Mr. John Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khásias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khásias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking [illegible] for cutting, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

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the Gáro or Khási than is to be found in earlier writers, and no allusion is made to the stone monuments. The first contains a very exaggerated and by no means faithful account of both the Khási and Gáro, and the latter has copied Elliott's descriptions. 114 113

Dr. Hooker, in his "Himalayan Journals," gives some good drawings of the stone monuments—alludes briefly to their form, and the habits of the people. Dr. Hooker also alluded to the Khásias at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich in 1868; thus attention was drawn to them in a prominent manner. A paper was written shortly after this by Lieut. E. N. Steel, R.A., who had been quartered for some time at Cherra Poonjee, and published in the "Transactions of the Ethnological Society," vol. viii.

The latest paper that we have on the Khásias is one published in the "Ausland" of last year, by — Schlagintweit, yet is not confined solely to the people, but treats of the meteorology of the district, and very briefly of the geology. The Gáros and Nágas are also noticed. I hope to be able in a future paper to call attention to these people, and shall then allude to one or two paragraphs where I think M. Schlagintweit has been led into error. To one such error I would now refer. He says, "The Khasias are the most numerous and most powerful of the tribes inhabiting the part running from west to south (he must mean east) in this mountainous district, but it is also necessary to mention the two groups of Gárdos and Jaintias who are their neighbours in the south (he must mean the east) and the west. The grade of civilisation of the Gárdos and Jaintias is very low, etc., etc." Now, M. Schlagintweit must have been quite misinformed as regards the Jaintias, and he has evidently never been among them, or he would have known that the Jaintias, or more properly speaking, the Sintengs, are of the same stock as the Khásis, that the language is the same with some slight modification, and that their customs and religious rites are almost identical. In Cherra Poonjee itself there is a small hamlet of emigrants from the Jaintia side, and they are found living among the Khasias in the main village. Many of the elders in Cherra claim to have originally come, several generations back, from the side of Jawai. 114

M. Schlagintweit further on says—"The want of all modesty in the grown-up people of these primitive races, to whom we apply the term savages, is very remarkable." With this statement I do not agree, and consider they have the feeling strongly developed, and are quite as particular about the exposure of their persons as the people of India proper. The Gáro wears the "Langooti" quite as large as that worn by the lower classes in Bengal and N. W. Provinces, etc.,

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114 etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is it than the thin gauze-like cloth worn by even the better class of Babus in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Garo women being particularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their family and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not so common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of these tribes select their wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day; and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

[113] In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khásis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the We'sh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1856, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khási Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khásia Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

114 101 The various ways in which the word Khási has been spelt by different writers, has no doubt puzzled many an European reader, and will be familiar no doubt to some in the form of Cossyah, Khassyah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

101 197 They call themselves Ki Khási, and their country Ká Ri Khási,* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghási"—grassy: the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradiction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khásias never pe-

* Compare "Rhí", a mountain (Tibetan).

9: Godwin-Austen C-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7



intimately connected with cremation, and that bangles and other ornaments are to be found in them. Whether such are removed from the body at the present day is a point I did not satisfactorily clear up, but which is one of interest. 764

You find the cromlech cuboidal form of four well-cut large stones on edge, closely fitted and surmounted by another horizontal one closing the structure. I give a drawing of a very large and striking one not far from the mission houses at Cherra; one of the sides of this has fallen and been removed, it is probably of great age, and the family is extinct. In other cases a number of rough stones are set up in a circle, crowned by a flat circular slab. I have also seen them of octagonal form, the sketch represents one in the south of Jawai, near the site of a deserted village, one of the side stones has fallen outwards, thus exposing the interior; in this I found several calcined bones and two bangles or wristlets of brass; this surprised me, for I was not aware that ornaments were left on the body on cremation; nor do I think they are at the present day. There were no traces of pottery either, and the bones had not been placed in a vessel as is the usual custom now. The structure was apparently of considerable age, and no village had occupied the site for many years.

A very general form at present of these bone receptacles is that of a heavy slab of stone, level with the ground, covering a cyst, which is lined with stones.

The bones are not consigned to these receptacles for some time, often a year or more after the burning of the body, and in no case until it has been ascertained that the soul of the deceased is at rest, and leading a life, or rather a new existence of happiness; should the whole of his family remain in health, this state is assumed to be attained, if, on the contrary, any member be afflicted with illness or pain, the spirit is understood to be restless and in want of something; the breaking of eggs is resorted to, and such may indicate that it is necessary to sacrifice a fowl or goats, and that the bones of the defunct be taken up and buried in another spot. Such removal, however, in the case of the most troublesome ghost is only done three times, and restless as he may be, the bones are then finally deposited in the family bone receptacle; man and wife are never deposited together; they belong to different clans, thus the ashes of children are placed in the receptacle of their mother's tribe to which they are considered to belong. I would here refer to the paper written by the Rev. J. Pryse in the *Calcutta Review* for 1854, p. 128, with his excellent description of a form of sacrifice. (Appendix B.) [113]

The collection of the bones into one vault, as it may be termed, is done under the impression that the souls of the departed may 764 775

[see category 116, pp. 137-8.—Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87



is seen by the inmates, and quite as soon by the neighbours, who collect to revile and jeer the unfortunate individual; his relations leave him; his wife, if he has one, retires to her parent's or sister's home, and in no other way can he recover his position in society save by throwing away all he possesses; cash and clothes are scattered on the road as he goes out of the village, and are picked up by those who follow; his house, I was told, is also demolished, and the thatch roof carried out and burnt in the outskirts of the place.

This paper has become much longer than I had anticipated, and I fear will exhaust the interest that there may be in it. I had intended alluding to the Kúkis, Mikirs, Garos, etc., and exhibiting drawings of their burial-grounds, but this I think may be best postponed and introduced with some notes on the extension of those tribes and the people of the northern slopes of the Khasi range of hills, if this Society should think such of sufficient interest to them. I trust also that Captain Williamson, Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills, now on leave in England, will give us the benefit of the valuable information I know he has obtained regarding the manners and customs of the Garo tribes, among whom he has mixed so much and so intimately.

### Appendix A

Paper on the Origin, Location, etc., of the Bodo, Kooch, Dhimáll People, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849. Vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 728.—"Thirteen leaves, each with a few grains of rice upon it, are placed by the exorcist in the segment of a circle before him, to represent the deities. The Ojha squatting on his asana before the leaves causes a pendulum attached to his thumb by a string to vibrate before them, repeating invocations the while. The god who has possessed the sick man is indicated by the exclusive vibration of the pendulum towards his representative leaf, which is then taken apart, and the god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires!—a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck to spare the sufferer (the Ojha best know how!) a hog, and it is forthwith vowed by the sick man and promised by the exorcist, but only paid when the former has recovered. On recovery the animal is sacrificed, and its *blood* offered to the offending deity."

### Appendix B.

*Calcutta Review*, 1854, p. 128. Paper by the Rev. J. Pryse.—"The universal desire to immortalize the memory of their dead ancestors on earth by the erection of stone monuments, may be deemed as a faint indication of an expectation of some kind of future existence. The sacrifice for their dead, which they call 'Suid-ing', or "Kuid-ing", that is, the ghost or demon of the dead, may be considered indicative of the same notion. The professed intention of the sacrifice is to pacify the

B. Gadwin-Adams C-6 (no date) 3/72 A81 Khasi A81

1.18

## Discussion.

B4
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*Measurements of Size and Weight of the Stones composing the Monument at Lailongkote, Khasi Hills (from careful measurement of same).*

### Upright Stones or Columns.

| | Cubic feet. | Tons, cubic feet. |
|---|---|---|
| No. 1 = 13ft. 11in. × 6ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 680 | |
| 2 = 14ft. 9in. × 5ft. 6in. × | 9in. = | 462 |
| 3 = 11ft. 2in. × 4ft. 6in. × 1ft. 0in. = | 247 | |
| | | 1789 |

### Upright Stones or Slabs.

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 = 10ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 344 |
| 4 = 12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 8in. = | 630 |
| 5 = 9ft. 0in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 402 |
| 6 = 8ft. 3in. × 2ft. 4in. × | 9in. = | 144 |
| 7 = 10ft. 9in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 2in. = | 300 |
| 8 = 9ft. 6in. × 2ft. 3in. × 1ft. 2in. = | 216 |
| 9 = 11ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 2in. = | 294 |
| 11 = 12ft. 3in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 467 |
| | 3177 |
| | 3146 |

### The Largest Flat Stone or Column.

Greatest length, 21ft. 6in.; breadth, 11ft.; and mean thickness, about 1 foot: measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet as mean 3146.

### Flat Stones or Slippers and Side, and the two Gates.

| | Mean length. | Mean height. | Mean thickness. | Cubic feet. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. 1 = 6ft. 6in. × 5ft. 6in. × 0ft. 6in. = | 22 |
| 2 = 5ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 82 |
| 3 = 4ft. 2in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 27 |
| 4 = 5ft. 1in. × 7ft. 2in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 49 |
| 5 = 4ft. 3in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. = | 32 |
| 6 = 3ft. 2in. × 1ft. 6in. × | 9in. = | 22 |
| | 2360 |

2360 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 163 lbs., the weight of the Lailongkote granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet=cubic feet 21 : 19 : 3 : 7, for the other six, 2360 cubic feet=cubic feet 21 : 9 : 1 : 5.

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## Discussion.

•[n]
769
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Dr. Colquhoun said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1829 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walton on the Khasi (Cassia). The paper in question, which related to the village of Sopar-Punji, also contained drawings of certain stone monuments; among others, four large [illegible] stones standing together. They were only a few feet

12: Clarke U-1 (no date)1974 AR? Khasi AR?



years ago, previous to some of those published accounts, but contains several details not given by any of them. 3 ii

3. The Khasi stones are of three classes, viz :—

a. The funeral pyres.

b. The huts containing the pots of ashes. 3 vi 3 iv

c. The monumental groups.

It is the last class (c.) which has, hitherto, mostly monopolised attention, and to which the published notices almost exclusively refer.

4. THE FUNERAL PYRES.—When a rich man dies his body is generally reduced to ashes immediately, but his honorific cremation does not take place till some time, often a year, afterwards. In the interim the earthen jar containing his ashes is kept "under a stone" (in Khasi talk) *i.e.*, in a small temporary closed hut. For the honorific burning a pyre is prepared on which the ashes are burnt over again a very little, *pro formâ*, and the great funeral feast follows.

The pyre is placed just outside the village of the deceased, on a hillock or in a clear space near the road. The modern pyres are usually square, (approximately), the sides of stone (dressed or undressed according to the means of the family) about four or five feet high, the whole of the middle filled with loose stones and earth up to the level of the walls.*

A pyre was raised about four years ago just outside the village of Mawmai close by the English main road. Many hundreds of men and women carrying from ½ cwt. to 1½ cwt. on their backs pass close by this pyre daily and a considerable per centage cast a few pebbles on it. Ledges are raised on two sides, but are by no means essential to a pyre; they merely add a utility. The Khasis mean the ledges to be a convenient height to rest on with a load, and such ledge satisfies this condition, but no Khasi would dream of measuring with a two-foot rule, so as to get them the same height. So the pyre itself is meant to be a square or thereabouts. All the Khasi stonework is done in this way; they do not care to make it geometrically accurate, and consequently in my opinion little valuable result could be drawn from any accurate measurement and mapping of the stone monuments.

This pyre at the entrance to Mawmai is one of the most complete modern pyres. The ancient pyres were very seldom (if ever) made with hewn stones, and the Khasis state that in former times they were as often made round (*i.e.* oval) as square. Being thus originally very roughly shapen heaps of loose

* For admirable illustrations of the Khasi monuments, see "Proceedings of the Soc. Ant., Scotland," vol. i, p. 94. Ferguson's "Rude Stone Monuments," chap. viii, and "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii, p. 358. [Ed.]

Pyrus Kunia, for the reciprocal relations. Normally, however, the mother-in-law is referred to by a separate special term which does not stress this aspect of the relation between the two persons.

[illegible]


* [illegible]
* [illegible]
* [illegible]
* [illegible]
* [illegible]
* [illegible]
* [illegible]

15: Nakaso E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 ART Khasi ART

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19 McCormack E-4.3 (1956-1958) 1964
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[P. 106A]

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the mountainous United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 4' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 9' and 26° 9' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their dialectal residence patterns and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Bhoksa or eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyangam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and contain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Gurdon [1958] to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoys, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoy country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Nikars, Lalungs and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, as the Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars, of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Gurdon 1906 and 1907, also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] Geography. The District is 3,384 square miles of hilly tableland, erratically dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,449 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles east into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 200 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 35 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoy, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungle, and heats abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1854, chap. XXIX.] Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pa'ang-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Gurdon adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Sabel 1861, Gurdon 1913-24; 21 March 1962.]

16: McCormack E-4.5 (1956-1958) 1964
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1960-20: 2. Barth 1982] Demographic. According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 221,992 Khasis and 97,532 Syntengs. Pnars and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1982: 57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,988), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (487), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (270), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (484), yield a total of 305,224 Khasis. History and cultural relations. Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1928: 288 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1908: 5-9 for myth, but see also Gurdon 1896, 1906; Gordon 1967: 10-11, and Chatterji 1965: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Satpheh 1967: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1220 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1500 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map 1). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1830, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be ruled as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis resided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1770s, cropped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

16: McCormack E-4,9 (1956-1958) 1964
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thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were so then, nor are they now. Samuel Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To name a few: Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasi rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for even poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for his performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the new state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of the affluence has been the accelerated enrollment in school and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the I.A., B.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or autonomous, Tribal Area to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-run system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to important custom nor a simple footprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism of the time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resent the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [I Cart 1888, Arichanna 1931, Bhuyan 1940, Morris 1951.]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis by ethnicity or custom, are clustered, and emphasize villages which are situated not below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1954-1958) 1964

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God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Nohsngithiang ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the most religious of many chieftains was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example still practiced, is the Pomblang System of Khynriam chiefdom. (Cf. Lyngdoh 1927, 1940, Dregniller 1960, Jordan 1966.) Illness and medicine. In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and probably also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who zealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. Soul, death, and afterlife. The universe is composed of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped ch by ch. The earth and all nature was created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his ch mates. First, he feels a remorse by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire ch gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased ch mates from their temporary receptacles to the great ch stone that is in the keeping of the youngest daughter, descended from the ch foundress through a line of youngest daughters. The final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the stone, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "resting level out in the house of God."

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would not be in a position to direct their attention to the problems of keep priorities and other necessaries in their life. This is expressed through rituals which are maintained through tradition and transmitted from generation to generation. A proper performance of the ritual ensures prosperity.

The status of uncle occupies a very important position in the social life of the Khasi community. He acts as a manager of the family and his opinion is always sought for in any matter of social implications. He is thus honoured and respected by all the members of the house. In spite of the sentimental ups of their society, the men are given honourable position in the affairs of the family. They also have given due recognition in their various customs and rites. The uncle (mother's brother) as also husbands in some exogamous clans, are always remembered by the living members of the house for their welfare and security. They are thus invited and are prayed by them to bestow all possible help to safe over their period of crisis. The Khasi performs to obtain the people in general pay due reverence, are considered to have led similar life as ancestors in their private society. Thus the various rites and ceremonies that are observed, expressing clearly the duties, nature and obligations for these dears, are simply a reflection of the Khasi way of life. The general pattern of social structure has been found to be projected unconsciously through their religious worship and these celebrations are of course of great value to the social scholarship as it re-enforces certain cultural features so characteristic of the tribe.

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forms) or instruments of cases which have not thereby suffered either abrogation or disuetude—that is to say, they are all, with a few exceptions, suitable to their constituent case words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which abrogation and "fusion" of cases have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jing*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *ïyn*, *ïym*, *ïun*, *ryn*, *rym*, *run*, *ïyn*, *ïym*, *ïun*, *kyn*, *kym*, *kun*, *ryn*, *rym*, *run*, expressing causation, intermediation, and reciprocity. The language is found purest at Cherra Punji. The Khásis have no written character or literature of any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khási Grammar*, *Anglo-Khási Dictionary*, *Khási Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khási English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khási First Book*.

"Law of Succession to Inheritance.—A Khásí, whether married or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be earning for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he cares for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

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significant that the reason given for the comparatively frequent marriages of Khasi girls with Chinese boys is not the greater physical resemblance which no doubt exists between the average Khasi and the average Chinese (Mongol) as compared to the average non-Chinese Mongol (Indians, Europeans, Africans, Americans and others) but the belief that Chinese husbands are less domineering in their attitudes towards their wives, than are other Mongol.

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